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manufacture of weapons and munitions, and while doing all of this we continued to finance our Allies.

Tremendous sums of money were invested through the Treasury Department in Liberty bonds purchased on the market to keep the market up, and in certificates of indebtedness and farm-loan bonds. Hundreds of millions of dollars were raised for the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., K. C.'s, the Salvation Army, and the Jewish Aid Society, to be expended by these benevolent organizations for the comfort and welfare of the soldier boys at home and abroad. For the first time in the history of the world, the soldier boy was recognized as something more than a fighting machine, and everything of evil was excluded from the army camp and army life. There is nothing like it in history; there is nothing like it in fiction, for the wondrous tales of the Arabian Nights pale into insignificance when compared with the marvelous achievements of this country in the year and a half in which we were involved in the war. If we could have kept alive, after the signing of the armistice, the spirit of self-sacrifice of our people which existed during the war, we would be a long way on our road back to normal conditions. Since we financed our own country in time of war and loaned to the Allied countries ten billion dollars, we ought not to have any trouble in financing any constructive foreign policy. But the first thing is to get back to normal conditions, and to assist the returned soldiers until they are absorbed into the business life of the country.

We accomplished these mighty things because practically every American was helping; but as soon as the armistice was signed the people quit helping. They forgot the mighty debt this country incurred during the war, and the drive habit continued. Hundreds of millions of dollars are being raised for colleges, universities, benevolent organizations, and churches. I believe in colleges, universities, churches, and benevolent organizations; but is this the time to burden the people with these continuous drives after the sacrifices they made for their country during the war, and is it the kind of production that counts? Is it not increasing the cost of building material, making it prohibitive to the poor man who wants to build a home? The Liberty bonds, purchased at great sacrifice during the war, are dumped upon the market. The cost of living is increased for lack of production. By adding the war-profit tax, to be paid by the ultimate consumer, and the avarice of the profiteer compelled many deserving people to sell their Liberty bonds at a sacrifice to purchase the necessities of life. Extravagance and speculation are rampant throughout the country. This is our immediate problem and one that must be solved before we can give much attention to a foreign constructive policy not connected with the League of Nations and the treaty of peace.

When our boys crossed the ocean to fight for humanity and to make the world safe for democracy, we hoped, and we still hope, for some international power that will prevent future wars. If I had power to establish peace upon earth I would begin by disarmament. No country will start a war if it is not prepared for war, and the country that is prepared for war and wants war will find an excuse for war. We know that the great World War was not started until Germany was ready; we know, too,

that the murder of an archduke was not the cause of the war. That was the excuse for the war. But there is a mighty difference between an excuse and a reason.

You cannot establish peace with mighty armies. Armies are not raised and equipped for peace, but for war. Fighting is the soldier's profession, and he is just as anxious to engage in the practice of his profession as a lawyer, doctor, or dentist, or any other professional man is. War means to the soldier an opportunity to distinguish himself upon the field of battle. It means promotion, and every soldier is seeking promotion. Our soldier boys came from the peaceful homes throughout the land. They knew nothing about war except what they learned in their histories. Did they fight? Ask the Germans! Percy, the rich man's son, got right down into the trenches among the cooties and fought and shed his blood the same as the little chap who had grown up in an alley and had had a fight every day of his life.

What about the man who has used the talents that God has given him for better purposes in the construction of weapons for the destruction of human life? He has spent his life in devising ways and means to destroy life. What he wants to know is, Will the weapon or the munition do the thing for which it is intended? It is a part of him; it is a creature of his handiwork, of his brain, and just as much a part of him as the painting that the artist throws upon the canvas is a part of the artist. It would seem that if there is to be an international power to prevent future wars, now is the time to secure it, while the world is still bleeding from the wounds of this awful war. It must come in time, and your organization is doing a great work by keeping in the forefront your high and noble purpose of establishing peace upon earth.

## ALTRUISM AND A CONSTRUCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

By THOMAS E. GREEN,

Director Speakers' Bureau, American Red Cross

**I** WISH to be extremely careful as to the choice of each word that I shall address to you at this time.

It is no easy task to conclude such a discussion as that to which you have listened. The various phases that make up subjects of the evening have been presented to you by those who by virtue of long years of activity have become masters of their theme.

It has fallen to my lot to round this remarkable discussion into a conclusion.

I am not a specialist along lines of finance and education. Of economics and diplomacy, of law and literature, I have no new word to offer.

I come to you as a dreamer of dreams, as a seer of visions, if perchance I may guide your thought to the conclusion I wish to reach.

There seems to be no question whatever about the fact that, however we would like to think to the contrary, we are not through with the war.

The Red Planet that ruled men's passions during the long conflict is still in the ascendant and glares balefully from the sky.

The world has not made a good reaction. Civilization has not yet recovered its equipoise.

It is a bewildered world everywhere—a confused world, and until great facts are adjusted and new relations are established it is an imperiled world.

War has brought two great results to the world—ruin and revelation, destruction and disillusion.

Of the ruin of war, ghastly, vast and incalculable, there are no words adequate for description.

I have just come from the scene of that ruin, where from the Channel to the Alps I went through league after league of desolation, with broken habitations, ruined villages, shattered towns; the very face of nature itself cut and gashed and torn into such awfulness as baffles imagination.

It was easy to break and destroy. That which generations had builded crumbled like a house of cards before the belching of shrapnel and the rattle of machine-guns. It was easy to shoot the world up. We are finding it is infinitely harder to build the world back.

Equally startling and even more grotesque was the revelation of war.

It came in the midst of an age that had wrapped itself in smug complacency over its achievement; that believed it was far and away the greatest and grandest and the most advanced epoch in all of time.

Human society is a queer institution. Builded apparently upon substantial foundations, it was in reality constructed out of shreds and patches.

Precedent, prejudice, heredity, and environment were far more potent dynamics in this world than are logic and sound philosophy.

When the armistice was signed everybody made up his mind that the war was over.

After a few hours of hysterical and emotional celebration everybody prepared to get out and get down to normal peace-time activity.

But when people turned and looked back toward what had been they realized, to their amazement, that it was not there. Stranger than that they realized that what they thought had been there never was there.

Every conceivable explanation of the unrest, dissatisfaction, and disorder that prevail throughout the world has been proposed except the real one—the one that is deepest and most important.

Centuries ago the man who, whatever he may have been, was at least wise in his comprehension of the human forces of his day wrote:

“Where there is no vision the people perish.”

And by vision the wise man meant, of course, the comprehension and the following of an ideal—of a great pattern that should produce alike in the individual and in the aggregate of individuals that we call human society the constant result of peace and happiness among men.

For I may perhaps remind you that peace is not an ideal at all; happiness is not an ideal; contentment is not an ideal. They are states of mind—conditions of life attendant upon the achievement of an ideal. The ideals that are the dynamic forces that produce peace, happiness, and contentment are human liberty, justice, righteousness, the conduct of an orderly human society.

Without them as creative forces peace is but an iridescent dream.

The prophet who sang the glories of the splendors of the millennial dream found it in the conjunction:

“Righteousness and Peace have met each other.”

You cannot make peace by act of Congress, unless by that self-same act you establish the conditions that result in peace.

For generations past the modern world has been in a state of intellectual upheaval.

Beginning with the latter half of the eighteenth century, the stern rebellion against tyranny and oppression—against special class and privilege—found its expression in the program of liberty and individualism as the ideals whose achievement was to bring peace.

With the vindication of these claims man's attention naturally turned to himself, his surroundings, his occupation, his possibility.

There is no greater peril in the world than the peril which lies in half truth. There is no greater falsehood in the world than the falsity of exaggerated truth.

Independence made man a natural egoist, and egoism, strangely enough, is the keynote of lawlessness.

Only the wise man can recognize the danger to himself when, being set free from the restraints and compulsions which constitute tyranny, he begins to demand of himself freedom from the internal and ethical restraints that distinguish liberty from license.

We have come to a point in our modern psychology where we admit the wide influence of the subjective mind as a dynamic force.

Loose in the modern world myriads of minds, each one intent upon its own satisfaction and its own attainment, and you create an atmosphere where nothing is possible but disorder, conflict, and destruction.

Our ancestors fought for independence; for independence they thought and spoke and reasoned and legislated, and by its attainment as an ideal they dreamed they were producing and compelling peace.

The pendulum has swung too far. A new watchword has become the world's necessity—not independence, but interdependence is the basis of the philosophy that man must learn.

If the ruin of war is to be rebuilt; if the revelation of war is to be understood; if civilization is to recruit its tottering forces; if it is to go on at all toward the framing of a constructive policy either at home or abroad, it must move in harmonic chords if it moves at all.

The old one-string melody of national egoism has vanished with the economic crudities of yesterday.

It took four years of fighting and cost the world probably twenty million lives and incomprehensible expenditure of substance to trample the mad delusions of selfishness that all but wrecked the world.

Out of it we are coming with this fact stamped clearly upon our minds: the world can no longer be half bond and half free; half clothed and half naked; half hungry and half fed. I doubt if we can much longer say that the world can exist half rich and half poor; half master and half serf, in any way or shape or form that human co-operation and brotherhood can remedy.

We are going to have some strange experiences adjusting things before we are through with this aftermath of war.

The falsity of much that has been deemed essential must be demonstrated. Expediency must give way to duty; profit must become secondary to principle; selfishness must yield to altruism.

There can be no cure for the ills, contradictions, and the unrest of the world until faith in righteousness and the rule of universal justice are restored and made supreme in the life of men and of nations.

No man can live unto himself alone. No nation can live unto itself alone. Not in theory, but in absolute practice, mutuality is the world's single solvent, the one ideal that can produce lasting peace.

In America we think that our peculiar fortune in war has produced peculiar results, but a glance at the pages of history assures us otherwise.

War has always produced strangely similar results. It has always developed the profiteer beside the patriot; greed and dishonesty beside gallantry and devotion. The present atmosphere throughout the entire world is a dangerous one to idealism.

That condition is especially true here in—

"America, half-brother of the world,  
With something good and bad of every land."

But the essential difficulties of our condition only make its possible glories greater.

We have lost, alas, the moral value of the tremendous sentimentalism with which we flung ourselves into the world conflict. It was the chance for the development of a stupendous force that might have led and saved the world.

It has gone down into the midst of the slimy tides of personal selfishness and grasping greed.

There remains a great object-lesson in the work of the American Red Cross, which was the heart of a nation mobilized for service. The record of what it did is written in syllables of gratitude and affection that the world will never tire of repeating. The story of its achievement is an epic whose splendor can never be sung, and that not because the Red Cross was anything new or unique or wonderful.

The Red Cross was merely the symbol of sacrifice—sacrifice that is the price of victory—victory that is the ideal that will make peace—the real, the lasting victory of a nation that learns that true greatness lies not in rich abundance nor in pampered selfishness, but in the service that loves itself last; that lives for all mankind.

It is a dream, you say. I fear I must grant you that; but remember that it is the dreamer that has always led the world.

Even in the sordid chapters of world history that lie behind us men have followed the signs upon the skies and not the foot-prints upon the sands.

For such a time; for such a crisis; for such a possibility—

"God give us men. The time demands  
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and willing hands;  
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;  
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;

Men who possess opinions and a will;  
Men who have honor; men who will not lie;  
Men who can stand before a demagogue  
And dam his treacherous flatteries without winking;  
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog  
In public duty and in private thinking."

A constructive foreign policy will fail that is not based in service; that does not know the throbbing soul of brotherhood.

But, knowing these, our weak endeavor attains a matchless power, for it lays our aspiration at the feet of Him who came—

"Not to be ministered unto, but to minister";

who gave His life for the world.

## THE UNPOPULAR AMERICAN

By H. W. DUNNING

Of American Graves Registration Service, Paris

IT EASILY is understood how those who stay at home make the mistake of thinking of Americans as being at the height of popularity and glory abroad. Why not? Having won a long and bloody struggle for the Allies and dictated a victorious peace, we are preparing to put the world on its feet again with our money, food, and moral support. Europe, Asia, and Africa are our debtors.

And that fact, coupled with the attitude of the average American who visits Europe, and Europe's misconception of the average American, is the reason why, as individuals and as a nation, we are unpopular. Naturally, the trend of political events, to some extent, affects this international opinion of us; but the main factors are as already set forth. These observations are made after having visited practically every section of Europe with a view to determining the cause for the unpopular American.

Put a thermometer to gauge popularity in the mouth of each member of Europe's family of nations and notice their temperature.

As is to be expected, we are most popular among the small, new nations of central and southeastern Europe and western Asia—Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, the independent Arabic tribes of Mesopotamia and Yemen, Palestine, and Armenia. Four things are directly responsible for this: First, America's successful participation in the war and our stand at the peace table for the rights of small nations; second, the magnificent relief-work undertaken by the American Red Cross and Hoover Food Administration in the desolate provinces of these nations; third, the physical assistance rendered by individual Americans and American legions before and after the signing of the armistice with Germany; fourth, sales made and credits extended to these new nations.

As always has been the case, governments of newly created republics are more nearly in harmony with or more representative of the masses than is usually true of older, more established nations, where the rut of politics has been cut deeply. At first glance, this might